1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green.

Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's.

Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home.

A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven together. Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his own house they appear to be overlooked.

Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solosolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart of India (called *vesi, Intsia bijuga*) and *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum brackenridgei*) which grow in the heavily forested interior. In Fiji the greenheart grows abundantly only on Kambara, the historic center of canoe building for the whole group and for Tonga as well.

TOKALAU

Tokalau village (fig. 3; table 1) is on the northwest shore of Kambara, at the foot of Ndelaioloi. It is the highest ranking village on the west side of Kambara and the home of the titular chief of Kambara, Tui Kambara. The village title, used on ceremonial occasions, is Nukuleka. The 125 inhabitants

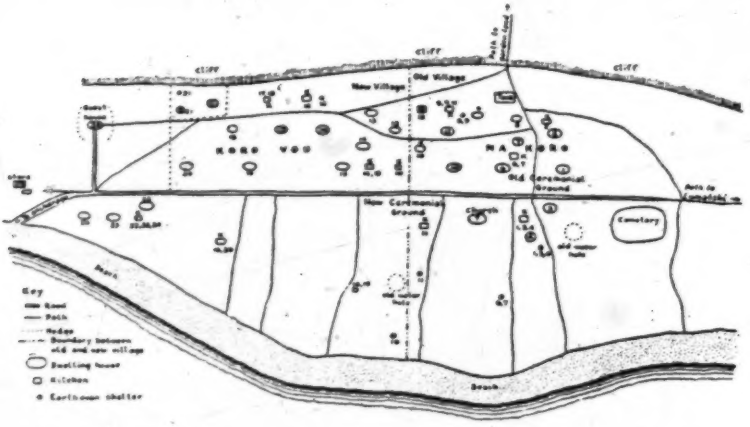

FIGURE 3.—Sketch map of Tokalau village, Kambara. (For household census see table 1, pages 14-21.)

occupy 26 sleeping houses. Tokalau is one of the few villages in southern Lau which has a Chinese store. Imported trade articles are exchanged for copra or cash. A roadway runs from the landing opposite the anchorage through Tokalau southward toward the village of Lomatchi. Most of the sleeping houses are located in a clearing on the cliff side of the road. A few, together with earth oven shelters and kitchen huts, are situated in the coconut grove on the shore side. The old section of the village is located just below a break in the limestone cliff on the most direct path from the beach to the garden land and the old fortress sites. The path also leads through the jungle across the island to the villages of Nggalinggali and Undu. The village fishing grounds extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Ndaku.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA

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HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
1	Vale Levu, men's house	59	Vuanikathu	(1) male, age 77, chief of Kambara and headman of Vuanikathu clan; his Tongan wife is dead
2	Tchiana	8	Vuanikathu	I occupied this house
3	Mburotu	6	Vuanikathu	(2) female, age 26, child of 1 (3) female, age 3, illegitimate child of 2; child's father is dead (4) female, age 40, Vuanikathu clan (sister of 9); she is staying in Tokalau while her husband, a man of Saumua clan, Undu village, is working on Taveuni Island (5) female, age 19, child of 4 (6) female, age 8, child of 4 (7) female, age 40, born in Levuka, mother of 20, returned to Kambara after her husband from Matuku Island died
4	Wai Levu	2	Mbete subclan of Vuanikathu clan	(8) male, age 45, born on Komo Island, moved to Tokalau at time of his marriage to 9 (9) female, age 40, Vuanikathu clan, parallel cousin of 1, wife of 8 (10) male, age 22, child of 8 and 9, husband of 20 (11) female, age 20, child of 8 and 9 (12) female, age 19, child of 8 and 9 (13) female, age 16, child of 8 and 9 (14) female, age 14, child of 8 and 9 (15) male, age 12, child of 8 and 9 (16) female, age 10, child of 8 and 9 (17) male, age 8, child of 8 and 9 (18) female, age 5, child of 8 and 9 (19) male, age 3, child of 8 and 9

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(20) female, age 19, born on Matuku, child of 7, wife of 10
				(21) male, age 5 months, child of 10 and 20
				(22) female, age 14, born on Matuku, child of 7, sister of 20
				(23) female, age 7 months, illegitimate child of 11; the child's father, who is working on Taveuni Island, is the son of 1, the parents are parallel cousins
				(24) male, age 5 months, illegitimate child of 12; the child's father, who is working on Taveuni, is the son of 119
5	Sayama	2	house of the schoolmaster, owned by the village	unoccupied
6	Moitokavoru	3	Vuanitavola	(25) male, age 60, village headman, master fisherman, and headman of Vuanitavola clan
				(26) female, age 54, born in Undu, Matasoata clan, wife of 25
				(27) female, age 19, child of 25 and 26
				(28) female, age 17, child of 25 and 26
				(29) female, age 14, child of 25 and 26
				(30) male, age 1, grandchild of 25 and 26, child of 32
				(31) female, age 8, orphan, illegitimate child of first wife of 34; child's father belonged to Levuka clan, Lomatchi
7	Vale Kapa	30	Vuanitavola	(32) female, age 28, born in Lomatchi, wife of the son of 25 and 26 who is working on Taveuni, mother of 30

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

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HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(33) female, age 60, born in Tokalau, Vuanikathu clan, mother of 32; her husband, a man of Levuka clan, Lomatchi, is dead
8	Moanikau, men's house	20	Vuanitavola	(34) male, age 40, separated from his wife 36 during the tabu period after childbirth
9	Ndokanitambua	2	Vuanitavola	(35) female, age 50, sister of 34; she has returned to Vuanitavola clan after the death of her husband who belonged to Vuanikathu clan, Naitathini subclan
				(36) female, age 25, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, second wife of 34
				(37) female, age about 50, born in Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan, mother of 36
				(38) male, age 10, child of 34 and his first wife, now dead
				(39) male, age 6, child of 34 and his first wife
				(40) female, age 7 months, child of 34 and 36
10	Lotoa	house beams are 70 years old	house of the mission church	(41) male, age 69, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, native missionary for Kambara; his wife, from Totoya Island, is dead
				(42) male, age 17, born on Totoya, child of 41
				(43) male, age 15, born on Totoya, child of 41
				(44) female, age 12, born on Matuku, child of 41
				(45) male, age 8, born on Vanua Mbalavu, child of 41
				(46) female, age 21, child of 67 and 68

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

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HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
K10			kitchen for (10)	temporarily occupied by a group from Nggalinggali because 47 is ill after a stillbirth and is being treated by a Tokalau doctor
				(47) female, age 24, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, married to a man of Tanggu clan, Nggalinggali, who is working on Taveuni
				(48) female, age 52, born in Nggalinggali, Lemaki clan, widow of a man of Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali; mother of 47
				(49) female, age 70, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, a widow, grandmother of 47
				(50) female, age 20, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, sister of 47
				(51) female, age 19, born in Nggalinggali, Tanggu clan
11	Vakandewavosa		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	(52) male, age 46, born on Komo, came to Tokalau when he married Vuanikathu woman, now dead; envoy to Lakemba and headman of Mbete subclan
				(53) female, age 22, child of 52
				(54) female, age 10, child of 52
				(55) male, age 7, child of 52
				(56) female, age 16, child of 35
				(57) male, age 7, child of 35
				(58) female, age 13, child of 34 and his first wife
12	Nambukelevu		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	unoccupied because out of repair, but formerly occupied by 59 and her husband, now working on Taveuni, and by their child 60

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
K12	Kitchen house for 11		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	temporarily occupied, out of repair
				(59) female, age 22, Vuanitavola clan
				(60) female, age 1, child of 59
13	Vunivou		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	unoccupied since the death of former occupant, mother of 8, one month ago
14	Mbusa	4	Katoka clan, Saumua subclan	(61) male, age 36, child of 67 and 68
				(62) female, age 30, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, wife of 61
				(63) female, age 7, child of 61 and 62
				(64) male, age 5, child of 61 and 62
				(65) female, age 2, child of 61 and 62
				(66) female, age 70, born in Lomatchi, Levuka clan, grandmother of 62, a widow
15	Naloto	50	Katoka clan, Saumua subclan	(67) male, age 70, headman of Saumua subclan
				(68) female, age 70, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, wife of 67
				(69) female, age 21, child of 67 and 68, widow of a man of Vuanitavola clan
				(70) female, age 3, child of 69
				(71) female, age 5, illegitimate child of 46; child's father, working on Taveuni, is the son of 41
				(72) male, age 3, illegitimate child of 46; child's father is dead
16	Lamitchi	24	Vuanitavola	(73) male, age 46, Vuanitavola clan, carpenter
				(74) female, age 43, wife of 73

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

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HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(75) male, age 16, child of 73 and 74
				(76) male, age 11, child of 73 and 74
				(77) female, age 27, born on Komo, Tuvana clan
17	Nukumboromboro, men's house	6	Katoka	(78) male, age 60, headman of Katoka clan, chief of crops and herald
				(79) male, age 18, son of 78 and 82
				(80) male, age 12, Vuanikathu clan, an orphan
18	Naisevou	4	Katoka	(81) female, age 50, Vuanikathu clan, wife of 78, sister of 1
				(82) female, age 19, child of 78 and 81
				(83) female, age 15, child of 78 and 81
				(84) female, age 24, born on Totoya, child of 41, wife of son of 78 and 81; her husband is working in Suva
				(85) male, age 1, son of 84
				(86) female, age 20, Vuanikathu clan, daughter of 90 and 91
				(87) female, age 6, illegitimate child of 36; child's father, Nakaka clan, Lomatchi, is dead
				(88) female, age 24, Vuanitavola clan, wife of the son of the brother of 82; her husband works on Taveuni
				(89) female, child of 88
19	Tatchi	28	Vuanikathu	(90) male, age 52, Vuanikathu clan
				(91) female, age 44, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, wife of 90
				(92) male, age 16, child of 90 and 91
				(93) female, age 7, child of 90 and 91

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(94) female, age 5, child of 90 and 91
				(95) female, age 74, Vuanikathu clan, mother of 90 and 98
				(96) female, age 3, born in Lakemba
				(97) female, age 15, born in Lomatchi, Levuka clan; her mother 33 is the older sister of 89; the child is *vasu* to 89
20	Nukumbalavu	10	Vuanikathu	(98) female, age 46, Vuanikathu clan, widow of former Mbuli Kambara, Vuanikathu clan, sister of 90
				(99) female, age 25, child of 98; has returned to Tokalau after the death of her husband in Suva; she has one child in Suva
				(100) male, age 19, child of 98
				(101) male, age 16, child of 98
				(102) male, age 14, child of 98
				(103) female, age 12, child of 98
				(104) female, age 8, child of 98
				(105) male, age 3, child of 98
				(106) female, age 65, Katoka clan, widow of the former native missionary
				(107) female, age 16, born on Matuku; her father, now dead, was a brother of 67, Saumua clan
21	Naveiruarua		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	(108) male, age 70, Mbete subclan, Vuanikathu clan
				(109) female, age 60, born on Totoya, wife of 108
22	Kenitoni	3	Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan	(110) male, age 36, born on Komo, former Mbuli Kambara, temporarily schoolmaster; illegitimate child of 118

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

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HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(111) female, age 30, born on Komo, wife of 110; illegitimate child of 119
				(112) female, age 10, child of 110 and 111
				(113) male, age 7, child of 110 and 111
				(114) female, age 6, child of 110 and 111
				(115) female, age 4, child of 110 and 111
				(116) female, age 2, child of 110 and 111
				(117) male, age 3 months, child of 110 and 111
				(118) female, age 58, born on Komo, Nukusea clan, a widow
				(119) female, age 45, born on Komo, Mbete clan
				(120) female, age 16, illegitimate child of 119
				(121) male, age 45, half-caste born on Nggau
				(122) female, age 35, born on Kandavu; her father is from Komo, her mother from Vuanitavola clan, Kambara. She is cross cousin of 110
				(123) male, age 10, illegitimate child of 121; child's mother, from Nakaka clan, Lomatchi, is now living on Matuku Island
23	Tuvana		Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan	house is out of repair; it was formerly occupied by 119, 120, and 121
24	Mualevu	2 months	owned by Chinese storekeeper	(124) female, age 25, Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan, child of 119
25	Sitoa store		owned by Chinese trading company	(125) male, age 32, Chinese storekeeper
26	Koro Vou guest house		owned by the Kambara district	used for visiting chiefs and officials

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Kambara

THE FAMILY

A small clan or a subclan is composed of one or more *vuvale* (families or households). A *vuvale* usually consists of one family including a man, his wife, their children, and other near relatives. The group usually owns a sleeping house, a kitchen hut, and an earth oven shelter. Some families also own a men's house, used by the father of the family when his wife is child bearing, and by the youths, unmarried men, and widowers of the group. As a rule the family functions as a unit in planting, gathering, preparing and eating its daily food.

Local Groups

THE CHIEFDOM

The chiefdom of Lakemba is composed of a group of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) held in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Besides Lakemba and Naiau, the chiefdom consists of Kambara with its dependencies (Namuka and Komo) and its uninhabited possessions (Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi); Mothe with its uninhabited possession (Karoni); Oneata; Fulanga with its dependency (Ongea), its uninhabited possessions (Yangasa cluster) and Ongea's uninhabited possession (Ongea Ndriki); Thithia; and Ono with its dependency (Vatoa) and uninhabited possessions (Tuvana-i-tholo and Tuvana-i-ra).

The chiefdom resulted from the unification and organization of society in southern Lau, which began with the arrival of the immigrants from Viti Levu and was strengthened and accelerated by Tongan and finally European influences (pp. 29-30). Rivalry grew up between the clans of the nobles. Intervillage and interisland warfare followed. The nobles protected themselves with fortresses (p. 104). Their war leaders (*tamata nganga*) were aided by their allies (*mbatchi*) until gradually the strong groups reduced the weak ones to dependency.

There were three grades of dependency between political groups: *mbatchi*, *nggali*, and *kai si*. Moto of Undu says that a *mbatchi* is a man who helps because of kinship, not because he is forced to do so. According to Wilkes (26, p. 59) the term "*mbatchi*" means ally, or under the protection of a power though not actually subject to it, and the term "*nggali*" means subject to a power and compelled to pay yearly tribute or obliged to satisfy the demands of the chiefs. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 19) the *nggali* type of subjection includes a province or town subject or tributary to a chief town, and the *mbatchi* type includes provinces or towns not so directly subject, less oppressed, and less respected. In general the *mbatchi* includes those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; and the *nggali* includes conquered groups from whom the chief extracted

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share.

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head.

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66).

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni veikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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TABLE 2. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN ELEVEN NATIVE VILLAGES OF SOUTHERN LAU, FIJI, 1921-1936

		1921					1936						
Island	Village	Total population	Male	Female	No. of houses	Average number of occupants per house	Total population	Male	Female	No. of houses	Average number of occupants per house	Total population increase	Increase rate per 1,000
Kambara	Tokalau	109	48	61	19		127	55	72	19			
	Lomatchi	46	17	29	8		40	21	19	10			
	Tanggu	130	69	61	28		138	60	78	34			
	Undu	89	45	44	19		112	50	62	22			
Marambo*		8	1	7	1								
		382			75	5.09	417			85	4.91	35	92
Fulanga	Muanaithake	205	93	112	40		205	88	117	23			
	Muanaira	41	23	18	12		79	37	42	12			
	Naivindamu	64	34	30	12		106	55	51	16			
		310				4.38†	390			51	7.65	80	258
Ongea	Naithulaianga	101	56	45	21	4.81	105	51	54	29	3.62	4	40
Namuka	Nawatchia	216	113	103	53	4.08	269	123	146	52	5.17	53	245
Mothe	Nasau	187	105	82	51		206	106	100	50			
	Korotolu (formerly called Leva‡)	75	42	33	17		81	41	40	21			
		262			68	3.85	287			71	4.04	25	95
Total		1,271					1,468					197	154.99

Colony of Fiji, Census Reports, 1921, 1936.

* The inhabitants of Marambo moved to Kambara after 1921.

† Since the number of houses recorded for Muanaithake in the 1921 census is probably an error, I have reckoned the average number of occupants per house in Fulanga in 1921 on the basis of the other two villages.

‡ The inhabitants of Leva village moved to their present site after 1921 and named the new village Korotolu.